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# DIALOGUE

*Betwixt a Burgeſs of Edinburgh, and a Gentleman lately arrived in Scotland, concerning the Union and Behaviour of the Presbyterian Miniſters in that great Affair.*

*Burgeſs*

**W**elcome dear Sir to *Scotland*, where have you been theſe many Years by paſt, and when did you return Home?

*Gentleman*, You know I went away to *Darien*. After we were forced to leave that Colony, becauſe *William* emitted Proclamations, diſcharging his *English* Subjects to furniſh us with Firing, Bread, Water or any other Conveniency of Life. I came to one of the *English* Plantations, where I have lived ſometimes well enough, and ſometimes meanly enough; at laſt I reſolved to viſit my Native Country, and finding a Ship bound for *Newcaſtle*, I arrived there laſt Week, and in a Boat, which was returning from thence, I came about Three Hours agoe to *Leith*. But pray let me aſk you one Queſtion, I ſee a great Alteration in this City of *Edinburgh*, and a ſtrange pe-  
viſh penſive Aſpect in every Bodie's Countenance,  
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what's become of the Nobility and Gentry? I see Few or none of them walking in the Streets, I do not hear the Gingling of their Coaches, I see a vast many Houses empty, and Shops shut up, and all my old Acquaintances gone; Lord, what can be the Reason of all this.

B. The Reason! That's no Myſtery, this place is deſerted by a Third of it's Inhabitants ſince the Union, There being no Occaſion for the Nobility and Gentry to reſort hither now, that our Parliament and Seat of Government are removed to *London*, and the Commonality and Tradesmen having no Employment or Means of Subſiſtence, have been obliged to ſeek their Bread in Foreign Countrys, and of this, People of all Ranks are ſo ſenſible, that it's no Wonder they look out of Humour.

G. What the Sorrow do you mean, This cannot proceed from the Union; all the World believes it's Heaven upon Earth to *Scotland*.

B. They may believe as they will; but every Scots Man feels the Contrary, and I'll venture to ſay, that in a very few Years not only this City but every Part of *Scotland* will be entirely ruined.

G. Good God what Stuff do I Hear, are not Scots Men entituled to all the Priviledges, that happy *England* enjoys, with Relation to Liberty Property and Trade, and will you tell me, the Union can occaſion your Ruine.

B. Yes, I ſay ſo, and if you will take a Turn with me to the *Caſtle-Hill*, I'll bring you to be of my Mind.

G. With all my Heart ſay on.

B. As to the happy Change, with Reſpect to Liberty, I know not wherein it conſiſts; we are indeed at Liberty to do what we pleaſe, for the States Men at *London* cannot ſpare their Time and Thoughts

Thoughts so far Northward, and all our Government consists of Justice of Peace Courts, and an *English* Exchequer, in Place of the *Scots* Parliament, Council, and Treasury ; Hence it is, that Thieves, Vagabonds, Gipsys, and Sturdy Beggars harass the Country without Control, and no Man is safe in his own House, as for our Properties by the heavy Taxes imposed upon us, they are reduced to near a half to what they were, Impositions on Trade are so high, we pay an excessive Price for that which comes from foreign Countries; and the Product of our own Country cannot be sold, and is become a very Drug. And thus the Farmers are ruined, not being able to pay their Rents, and their Masters cannot long subsist. In the next Place, our Civil Laws and Judicatories are all subject to such Alterations, as the Parliament of great *Britain* shall think fit; And the same Parliament does determine our Civil Rights & Causes, when appealed unto, from our own Courts, and how the People of *England* can understand, our Laws & Constitution, it is not easy to imagine, and as little what may be the Issue of their Regulations in Process of Time, if it should so happen that our Session should be sunk, and we obliged to repair to the Courts of *London*, we will have a Fine Time of it ; Then as for our Trade, we had before the Union a little certain Beneficial Trade, but now we have little or nothing at all. For by the Union we are subjected to the same Prohibitions, Regulations and Impositions as in *England* and these are and ever will be settled and determined, with Respect to the Circumstances, Abilities, and Conveniency of *England* which differ so much from those of *Scotland*, they prove our Ruine : as for Example, we cannot export our Wool, we cannot manufacture it at Home to Advantage, so its a Drug, and yields no Money.



A great many Branches of Trade, such as Timber, Iron, Tar, Flax, Hemp-seed &c. some whereof *England* hath not so much Occasion for, as we have or are provided in them at Home, these I say are burdened with such heavy Impositions, that we cannot import them to Advantage, and so the Commodities we send abroad in Exchange for them have no Vent, and yield no Money; and we pay double Price for what we want, and without which we cannot subsist. Is not this a Way to Thrive? But further by the Repair of our great Men to Court and Parliament, and of others to solicit Favours at *London*, our Country is drain'd of Money; besides the Money which these People spend there, our Trades-men having no Employment here, must starve or seek their Livelyhood elsewhere, which will in a short Time disable this Country, and if the Riches and Strength of a Country doth consist in the Number of it's Inhabitants what shall become of us? I am afraid the old Prophecy will be fulfilled, *That Four and Twenty Women will be glade to follow one Cripple Cocker.* Lastly there are vast Sums of ready Money returned every Year in *Specie* from the Excise, and Customs-House Offices to *London*, and I know no Way of bringing Money into *Scotland* for the Goods, Cattle, &c. which we carry into *England*, will come very far short of the many Goods, such as Horses, Coaches, Apparel, Household Furniture &c. brought from thence. Now Sir, from these and a great many more fatal Truths, of the like Nature, I do subsume that our Liberty consists chiefly in having no Government at all, at least that they are upon no better Footing than before the Union, That our Properties and Estates are divided almost into Nothing; and our Civil Rights upon a very precarious Establishment, that we have not a Fund or Stock of Money



Money, (the Equivalent being several Years agoe more than repayed to *England*) where with all to carry on Trade, and suppose we had, we are restrained by Prohibitions and Impositions and want of Consumption for our Native Produce and Foreign Import.

G. I must confess there's some Weight in what you say, and it is not what I expected, but it is your own Faults why did you not provide Remedies in Time.

B. Some we could not Remedy, for there could not be an Union without a Communication of Trade thro' out the Island, and this was the Bait wherewith all to catch us, for by it we were to grow very soon Rich, and yet it will prove our Ruine, as it has opened a Door for importing the Manufactures of *England*, and obliged us to be lyable to the same Rules, and Burdens on Trade, and heavy Taxes imposed upon every Thing that's necessary for Humane Life; we could not prevent our People's Living in *England*, which discourages our Trades Men, and drains the Country of Men and Money. There are other Things we might have prevented, but our great Men were so fond of and in such a Haste to approve the Articles of the Union, that they rejected such Amendments as were proposed in Parliament, least as they said the *Englisb* Parliament should not agree to them, and we lose the happy Opportunity of being united with *England*. Of which I shall give you two Instances, The Members of Parliament that were against the Union urged that *Scotland* should be for ever free of the Salt and Malt Tax, but the Unioners would not hear of it; but after a great Struggle were forced to consent, that the Salt Tax should not take Place for the First Seven Years, and that the Malt Tax should not be imposed while the

War lasted, and so we have got the Malt Tax this Year, and will be sure of that of the Salt next Year; and when these two go Hand in Hand together, Few and evil will be our Days, but supposing we had taken all the Care in the World, and the Articles had been perfectly right framed, are not they subject to the Future Alterations of the Parliament of Great Britain, where the Scots have but a small and pitifull Representation, being but 45 to 513 English Members in the House of Commons, and the same Inequality in the House of Lords. And if these Articles should happen to be violated, who was Umpire of the Treaty, to whom can we complain, when we are wronged, and how can we obtain our Redress.

G. Nay if you doubt, that *England* will keep Faith with you, I have no more to say, but they are a Generous People.

B. That's true, That's their Character all the World over, is it not so say you, that is a Traveler, especially to the Scots whom they do not despise, and with whom they have not a National Quarrel; God Forbid I should say *England* hath broke Terms with us: But I'll mention a Few Particulars, and leave you to Form an Opinion of them, and what will follow after.

By the Articles of the Union, it is provided that the Court of Justiciary shall remain forever, as it was then established with the same Powers and Priviledges which was reckoned a great Security for our Lives and Fortunes; but in less than two Years after the Union, a Law was made empowering the Sovereign in Matters of Treason to appoint a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, that is to name such, and so many as shall be thought proper (and they may and probably will be *English* Men as well as *Scots* Men) to sit and judge with the Lords  
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of the Justiciary, and ordaining that all Tryals of Treason shall be for the Future, according to the Laws Forms and Punishments of *England*, so that *Scots* Men know not how they stand in such a Material Point, excepting that the *Scots* Laws enacted by our own Native Natural Hereditary and Lawfull Sovereigns, were not so severe and Sanguinary as the *English* Laws imposed by the several Foreign Princes and Usurping Powers, who subdued them; and that we are deprived of several Defences competent to us by the *Scots* Law. By the Articles of the Union, the *Scots* Peers are to be represented by Sixteen of their Number chosen by themselves for that Purpose; but who could imagine, that it could be inferred from thence, that no *Scots* Peer could be made a Peer of Great Britain; And yet when the Duke of *Hamilton* was created Duke of *Brandon* in *England*, they refused to allow him to sit as Such in the House of Lords: How far that Favour conferred on Him by the Queen, contributed to his Barbarous Murder, I do not pretend to determine; but it is certain that if his Footman had been raised to the same Dignity, there had been no Room for objecting against his Promotion, provided that he had also accepted of an *English* Title, for you must know that tho' all *Scots* Men, (the ancient Peers only excepted) are allowed to be capable of being Nobilitated, or called to the House of Peers; yet it is unaccountably pretended that by the Articles of the Union; they must assume an *English* and not a *Scots* Title, notwithstanding that *Scotland* is as much a Part of Great Britain as *England*, and no Distinction in the Imposition of Taxes and other Burdens: By the Articles of the Union, *Scotland* is exempted from the Malt-Tax whilst the War subsisted, which was the War with *France* and *Spain*; but the last

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Session of Parliament imposed that Tax in *Scotland*, tho' it was urged, that the Money to be raised out of it was for Paying of the Army for the last Year's Service, whilst the War with both *France* and *Spain* continued, and that at that very Moment, Nay for several Moneths after the Treaty of Peace, neither was nor would be concluded with *Spain*, and consequently the War was not ended. Again it is provided by the Articles of the Union, that Regard should be had in imposing of Taxes to the Abilities of the several Countries, and tho' it is certain that the *Scots* Malt is not near so good in Quality or Value as the *English* Malt, yet as great an Imposition was laid upon it, Now Sir what do you think of these Instances?

G. I'll be as cautious as you are and not give my Opinion, whither these Points will infer a Breach of Faith on *England's* Part, but I know what I think; but pray you tell me, was not the Affair of the Union debated in the *Scots* Parliament, and were any of these Objections made?

B. Yes, over and over again, but no Regard was had to any Thing that was urged.

G. How came that about? Were the Members of Parliament so Mad as to give up their Civil Rights and Sovereignty at Random?

B. I wont say they were Mad, but that they ran Blindfold into the Myre is too true, and I will tell you the Reasons assigned for it, *imo*. It's said, Some of the great Men were so sensible, that they had betrayed this Country in the Affair of *Darien*; and by subjecting us to the Management of *English* Councils, that they dreaded a *Scots* Parliament would sometime or other take them to Task: To prevent which, they brought about the Union, hoping to be protected by an *English* Parliament.  
249. Others again got positive Promises of being made

made Peers of *Britain*, and having great Pensions bestowed upon them. 3<sup>to</sup>. By the Articles of the Union, the Equivalent (that is the Sum paid to *Scotland*, in Consideration that above 43000 *Lib. Sterling* Yearly of the Money arising from the *Scots* Customs and Excise was to go towards the Payment of the *English* Debts contracted before the Union) was to be distributed amongst the Proprietors of our *Darien* Company, and those to whom Arrears of Pensions, or of Pay in the Army were due; and this took with so many, that without Thinking, they leapt at the Bait. 4<sup>to</sup>. A great Sum of Money was remitted from *England* to a certain West-Country Earl in *Scotland*, and some pretend to know to whom it was given, and what was every Man's Share. 5<sup>to</sup>. A great many were so afraid that the Pretender would come in, and be King of *Scotland*, that to get the Succession of *Hannover* settled, they agreed to the Union. 6<sup>to</sup>. The P———t was so corrupted, that the States-Men were able to carry any thing they pleased: For of all that voted for, and carried on the Union, there were Few or none that did not enjoy some Place or Pension, or had not such certain Promises as were very soon thereafter performed: Of whom I could give you a particular List if needfull; these are believed to be the Reasons why the Union succeeded so well in Parliament, and they appear the more probable, because there were Few or none out of the Parliament, who did not exclaim against the Union, as destructive to the Country.

G But when there was such a small Number in the Kingdom for the Union, I admire the People did not Rise in Arms and fall upon the Parliament.

B. That all Future Generations will admire as well as you do, but in Truth some unaccountable unforeseen Accidents did happen, that diverted these  
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Measures, and had the Parliament met in Summer and not in Winter, the Honest Country People especially in the Western Shires, could not easily have been diverted from tearing the Unioners in Pieces, and sending the P——t a Packing; for these true hearted Scots Men were extremely enraged at the Thoughts of the Union, and acted more like true Patriots than all the Nation besides; and indeed our Unioners were truly afraid of a Mischief, for they quartered the standing Army in and about *Edinburgh*, they had strong Guards at the Neither Bow-Port, at the Weigh-house, and in the Parliament-Cloiss; and the Members passed through a long Lane of Souldiers, as they went to and from the Parliament-House, which look'd not like a free Parliament.

B. That's true indeed, and I never heard of the Like, but when *Oliver Cromwell* set his Guards on the Parliament of *England*, and the *English* while last in *Scotland* made their Souldiers Drag the Members of the General Assembly out of their Meetings, but come Old Boy, I hope we'll speed better than you imagine, *England* will think it their Interest to support us now that we are a Part of themselves.

G. No Doubt of that, This was one of the Arguments for the Union, Nay a certain E——l who had a great Hand in making of the U——n, but died suddenly, before it was perfected, used to say (in Answer to those who alledged that our Money would be all carried into *England*) that after the two Kingdoms were united into one Kingdom, it was all one whether the Ready Cash be in *London* or *Edinburgh*; and if that Maxim stand, we may expect some Good and no otherways: For my Part I never like hobling of our Constitution, and I thought our Forefathers fully as honest and  
wise



wife as this Generation ; and I never saw but like the Tinklairs, we made two Holes for one we mended ; so that nothing should have tempted me to subvert a Governmenment and Sovereignty, for which our Predecessors had so Gallantly fought, and which had lasted above 2000 Years.

G. You quite confound me, and I do not know what to say ; but I would fain ask you a Question, how did our Ministers behave in the Matter of the Union, for I fancy it will not prove much for their Advantage ?

B. Why, as for the Ministers, they behave as they have done in most Matters since the Revolution, most scandalously.

G. That's a hard Word, but I find you are the old Man still, an Enemy to the Kirk.

B. You mistake me, I am very moderate in these Matters, I constantly hear my Parish Minister, but I cannot be reconciled to their Politicks, at first they opened, and roared against the Union, but when an Act passed in Parliament, the great Men of their Party perswaded them, That their Kirk and Stipends would infallibly be secured, and prevailed with them to change their Notes ; for all of them, except the Reverend and worthy Mr. *Ballandin*, Mr. *Wylie*, and a very few more of a Sudden desisted from Preaching against the Union, some of them privately using their outmost Endeavours to keep the People in Temper ; and others such as Mr. C——rs and most of his Brethren in and about *Edinburgh* publicly exhorting all with whom they had Interest, (which were not a Few) to promote the Union, as the best Security the *Presbyterian* Government ever had or could have, and the Strongest Bulwark against the Pretender.

G. Well, what would you have had then done.

B. That I cannot determine, but I only observe, that

that so soon as they got their own personal Concerns secured, they gave up, and did not value what became of the Country, had they thought their Stipends in as great Danger then as they doe now, we should have had Solemn Fasts, Representations, and seasonable Warnings against the Union, as well as now against the Pretender.

G. Do you blame them for these Measures?

B. I do not say so, but I blame them for pretending a Zeal for the Country, on no other View, but to serve and secure their own private Interests, and neglecting the Country when it stood most in need of their Assistance; now there is nothing in their Mouths, but sound the Trumpet, *To your Tents O Israel*, which is in plain Scots, *To your Arms To your Arms, Ye Men, Wives and Bairns*: But after they got their Act of Security for their Stipends, they were the Ministers of Peace in a Literal Sense, and when upbraided with it at the Time, they answered, that it was not fit for Church Men to medle in State Affairs, and indeed some People did say, that some of them were very well rewarded for advancing that Doctrine; but the Case is altered; in their publick Sermons, and private Exhortations, they rail at the Government, and give the People a bad Impression of the Queen, & Ministry but what is most unaccountable of all, tho' to please their Hearers they now and then exclaim against the Union, and do assert, that the Parliament of *England* has acted contrary to their Act of Security; yet in the electing of Members of Parliament, they have unanimously assisted those, who were the chief Instruments in promoting the Union, and by all their publick acting would seem to be against dissolving thereof, witness their Seasonable Warning, and my own Ears, which overheard no less than Six of them lately assert in the low Coffe-

Coffee-house at *Edinburgh* to a Gentleman, who I believe will verify this Account if required, *That the Union was not so ill a Thing as called, but that the Jacobites misrepresented it to the People, to serve the Ends of the Pretender*: I cannot imagine what makes them more afraid of the Pretender, than other People, I see no Body but them and their Fools looking gaskly, yet others have as much to loose as they have; I fancy their guilty Consciences tell them, that the Pretender or some other Person is ordain'd by Providence, as a Scourge to punish them, for joining with and supporting the Courtiers all King *William's* Time, whilst they were destroying our Colony at *Darien*, and subjecting the Country to *English* Influence, and for being at least passive and guilty of Sinful Silence, when the Union was carryug on.

G. You are a foul Mouth'd Fellow, why do you always ascribe those Steps to the Love of their Stipends!

B. Because they will bear no other Interpretation, do but consider, how they behaved in King *James's* Reign, when that King granted an Indulgence to the Papists, and Presbyterians, not out of Kindness to the latter, but with a Design to introduce Popery into the Land; all true Protestants regrated it, but our Ministers made a very Loyal Flattering fulsom Address thanking the King for it: Indeed not long after, they chang'd their Tune, but by this Time they saw King *William* was like to succeed; Now if they did this for an Indulgence, what would they not have done for King *James*, had he placed them in Kirks, and allowed them Stipends. Then observe their Behaviour when the Abjuration was put to them, they roared against it, but when they saw it was in Earnest, and that they must either take it or lose their



their Stipends, They Swore like Dragoons. I confess they did not all comply, but that makes it the more strange, for it would appear there was something in that Oath contradictory to their own former Principles, otherwise so great a Number of Learned and Eminent Members of this Church would not by refusing it have run the Hazard of losing the Exercise of their Ministry; and being exposed to these severe Penalties contain'd in the Act, and then those that did take the Oath, did it in such a false Hypocritical Way, for they pretended to make an Explanation but they whispered this Explanation over in a Corner, and not in the Face of the Court, being afraid to make it publicly, least it had been reckoned as a Deed inconsistent with the Nature of the Act, and by Consequence rendered them obnoxious to the Penalties contain'd in it; Now, if the Oath was lawfull, what Use was there for an Explanation, and if it was unlawfull, the Explanation was contrived to bubble and deceive the People, who they know were averse to it: For they could not be so ignorant, as not know, that Protestant Divines of all Perswasions agree, that Oaths are taken only in the Sense of the Law-giver, and according to the expresse Words and genuine Meaning thereof; and that no Explanation by the Party Swearing is relevant in the Sight of God; for otherwise we should soon fall into that detestable and damnable Popish Doctrine of Mental Reservation and Equivocation, which opens a Door to Perjury and Jugling with God and Man: For if one may swear, and be allowed to make a private Explanation, a Man may renounce his Baptism, and swear to be a *Mahometan*, provided he privately mean that it is only in so far as is inconsistent with Christianity, he may bear false Witness against his

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Neighbour, provided he mean, that it is in so far as is inconsistent with the Ninth Commandment. In short at this Rate we may Juggle with God and deceive Man, and yet have very good Consciences. But I have spent too much of your Time on this Subject, and I will add no more, but that I think in the Matter of the Union, and now again at this Juncture, the Mi---rs have nothing in their View, but their Stipends, and provided these be secured, they care not a Farthing what becomes of the Country.

G. Well, these are strange Things which you have told me, and this Country seems to be in a very Dismal Condition, but can you tell me how to bring Matters Right about again.

B. That's a Tale of two Drinks, and I know but one Way, but we'll defer entring on that Subject till you have more Time, so we'll return to the Cross, and see if we can meet and drink a Chopine of Two penny with some of your Comerads, that's the only Liquor our Purfes will afford since the Union, and the Malt Tax is like to bring us to Water.

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